

from one apartment and several middens used to explore the material practices of ethnogenesis.

The five chapters in "Practices" detail the author's multiscalar, multivocal, and multilocal analyses of the landscapes, architecture, foods and dining practices, and self-fashioning practices cultivated over the course of four generations of colonial residence. Voss documents how the colonists' adopted ethnonym of *Californio* captured their process of "graft[ing] themselves onto the land" (p. 147), negotiating the 1772 *Reglamento* (regulations for presidios that guided construction to ensure the Presidio functioned as a precision timepiece of defense). Over time, the colonists homogenized, centralized, and expanded the Presidio. This involved adopting adobe to assert the colonizer status of occupants and shifting decision making and surveillance from households and homes to the military command and public plaza.

The colonists' bodies and homes were also sites for displaying tradition and taste and negotiating gendered Californio identities. Extensive, detailed analyses of macroflora, fauna, ceramics, and documents revealed how the Presidio residents created a fusion colonial cuisine. Sumptuary laws attested to the significance of clothing in *castas* (castes or classes) ascription in the founding years of the Presidio. Over time, the generations refashioned themselves into Californios, defined in contradistinction to Native Californians and in the context of public and sacred, rather than everyday, dress. Men's roles, responsibilities, and honor were expressed through ornate Spanish Bourbon styles onto which they grafted symbols of military rank. Women manipulated styles more freely yet their allegiance to the media of expensive imported fabrics and ornaments conveyed the European ideals of civilization on which they founded their cultural identities.

In this study, Voss has narrated a powerful history of Spanish imperialism from the perspective of disadvantaged colonists drafted to serve on the front lines of European struggles for hegemony in North America. Although ethnogenesis proved an effective tool to alter the institutions that enlisted these colonists, Voss concludes that her study also "provides an important caution against viewing hybridity, fluidity, and contingency as inherently liberatory strategies" (p. 289).

*The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis* is a required read for scholars of European imperialism, colonization, race, class, and gender. It offers graduate students an inspirational model study. Highlighting the ambiguity and unevenness inherent in the process of ethnogenesis, Voss complicates our understanding of the relationships between colonizers and colonized. Her comparisons reinforce the need for continued research into the diverse strategies employed throughout the colonial Americas.

**Rumba Rules: The Politics of Dance Music in Mobutu's Zaire.** Bob W. White. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 300 pp.

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This ethnography of young dance-music performers and audiences in 1990s Kinshasa, Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), examines urban popular culture as a site of articulation for *political culture*, in the sense of everyday ideas and practices of power and authority. Using vivid first-person narratives that are at times as enjoyable (if not as danceable) as the music around which they revolve, Bob W. White examines multiple facets of Kinshasa's dance-music scene—from its compositional and performance practices to its industrial context to its attendant subjectivities—for evidence of how Mobutu Sese Seko's heavy-handed cultural policy and authoritarian leadership infiltrated everyday life in urban Zaire.

The music at the center of this study is the Cuban-tinged dance genre known locally as *rumba* or *musique moderne*. Despite the international scope of this music, White does not extend his study beyond Kinshasa (a city whose reputation for danger has no doubt dissuaded others from undertaking similar projects). The parochial focus is generally appropriate for White's stated objective of mapping the quotidian dynamics of political culture in Mobutu's Zaire; however, it sometimes seems at odds with the highly mobile nature of the musical culture around which the study is framed. Chapter 5's discussion of musicians' social mobility and cosmopolitan sensibilities, in particular, may have benefited from more attention to the global circulation of Congolese music and musicians (something White has written about elsewhere in insightful ways).

White finds the most revealing connection between Zairian dance music and Zairian political culture in the concept of "animation," which was central to both musical aesthetics and state cultural policy. Before animation became central to Zairian dance music, Mobutu had instituted a policy of animation politique, denoting state-sponsored, large-scale performances and daily performances of songs, dances, and slogans at schools and places of work. Without necessarily acknowledging the connection to animation politique, dance musicians in Kinshasa subsequently invented a two-part form that stressed the achievement of an ebullient state of animation in the upbeat second part (the *seben* [from the English musical term *seventh chord*]). White suggests that it was precisely dance musicians' ability to conjure animation that motivated Mobutu's regime to keep musicians poor and struggling through a "strategic neglect" of their industry (p. 81).

The political potential of animation was most directly realized in Zairian dance music through the advent of *libanga*, a form of percussive praise singing performed by the band's maraca-playing *atalaku* (probably derived from the Kikongo for "look at me!"). Through learning the art of the *atalaku*, White acquired a powerful ethnographic ear on the micropolitics of Kinshasan dance music and the dynamics of Zairian political culture more generally. His

ethnography reveals intimate links between libanga practice and animation politique as well as between the internal politics of Zairian dance bands and Mobutu's "big man" leadership.

In the book's final chapter, White thoughtfully airs the politics of his writing about Mobutu's Zaire in its wake. The urgent question confronting him is whether it is possible to approach the everyday reverberations of Mobutu's authoritarian rule without perpetuating the Western myth that gross abuses of power are uniquely, or essentially, African. This dilemma is particularly acute in regard to White's project, which, against the grain of much popular-music scholarship (incl. Congolese scholars' emerging writing), examines Zairian popular music as a site of accommodation, where subjects assimilated dominant political culture. White's response to this dilemma, evident throughout the book, is to keep in view the fact that accommodation is not the same as zombification. He portrays his young interlocutors in Kinshasa as fully formed subjects with projects and desires, as individuals who were drawn to dance music as a source of sustenance, pleasure, and meaning in the often-bleak world of Mobutu's Zaire.

Considering White's attention to the politics of his writing, it is a bit ironic that he engages in an unnecessary polemic on a field in which his book is likely to be read: ethnomusicology. In a brief passage on methodology, he describes *ethnomusicology* as a field wholly devoid of anthropological concerns; his characterization of the field is so reductive as to generate incomprehensible assertions like "[during the 1990s] the anthropological study of music still tended to be confused with ethnomusicology" (p. 13).

On the whole, *Rumba Rules* is a cogent and empirically rich contribution to the study of political culture in Mobutu's Zaire and beyond. It is a fine addition to the ethnographic literature on popular music in postcolonial Africa, which, by virtue of its object, has always enjoyed a privileged perspective on the nexus of micropolitics and macropolitics. Scholars interested in the popular, the urban, and the political in Africa will find much of value in its pages.

**Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders.** Teresa Wilkins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 231 pp.

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The intention to incorporate Native Americans within a national economy through trade as a form of education in "civilization" runs deep in the history of federal-Indian relations. It began in the Southwest after establishing a U.S. government foothold through army sutler's stores, administrative offices, and trading posts. Situated within a discussion of colonial and indigenous exchange systems, *Patterns of Exchange* explores relationships between Navajo

weavers and Euro-American traders, focused primarily on the eastern Navajo Reservation from the inception of trading posts in 1876 to the present day. Although Wilkins does not analyze Indian trading through the lens of the settlers' colonial project, the actions and correspondence of traders who implemented federal policy reveal the processes of assimilation within U.S. capitalism. Yet she shows that their widespread recognition in a flourishing Indian art market a century later is less an outright vindication of the policy than of Navajos in converting capitalism to their own ends through the textile trade. Exploring both Navajo and Euro-American perspectives on the economic and social content of trading relationships within distinct cultural parameters, Wilkins provides a historical analysis that is accessible to the multiple audiences, including Navajos, she addresses.

Through a detailed ethnography of intercultural production, Wilkins accomplishes a textual tapestry that is organized, appropriately enough, like a Navajo textile to reveal an intimate knowledge of the objects, agents, and territory she explores. The chapters exploring Navajo values, the heart of her book, are framed within borders the way a weaver structures her design. Wilkins first addresses the history of Southwest trading ("exchanging spaces"), then proceeds to consider Navajo weavers' knowledge of designs and materials as well as their motivations to engage with traders ("we wove the design we wanted"). She next discusses trading practices enmeshed in long-standing kinship relationships (trade "a long time ago"), followed by weavers' considerations for valuing their work in the marketplace ("please, my son, my rug is worth that much"). "Exchanging places" caps her analysis by investigating the innovation of traveling off reservation as a demonstrator to convey Navajo knowledge and practice to the outside world. The subtle alteration of the bordering chapter titles shifts authority for articulating the value of Navajo weaving from the trader to the weaver, from commodity to process and gendered body of knowledge. A chapter on traders' efforts to shape the market by establishing criteria of value for U.S. consumers at the turn of the 20th century, "the creation of a usable past," is also included within this bordered symmetry.

Wilkins contributes importantly to both the authenticity and creativity conundrums of recent anthropological and art historical debates, while revealing the way in which questionable capitalist practices, such as extending credit (a kind of futures trading of the day), were welcomed by Navajos for implicating the trader in their kinship system with its ideology of helping. Among her insights are the ways traders both disentangled weaving from the activities of daily life and disaggregated the process into stages of specialized labor. Her analysis of the basis, artistic execution, and Navajo interpretation of Hubbell's painting collection of precolonial weaving styles contributes to an understanding of "revivals" and the vexed question of "copying" designs. She thus sheds light on the layered processes by which weaving became aestheticized within the